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COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW REVUE CANADIENNE D'URBANISME

Editor: ERIC BEECROFT

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The cover of this issue has been made from photographs contributed by Georges Potvin, author of *Commercial and Industrial Blight* which begins on page 2.

Le couverture de cet numéro a été faite des photographies données par M. Georges Potvin, auteur de Délabrement commercial et industriel, qui commence à la page 2.

L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE D'URBANISME
COMMUNITY PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL BLIGHT

by Georges Potvin

Urban renewal discussions have confined themselves almost exclusively to forms of residential blight. The problems created by the existence of extensive housing slums have drawn the largest share of public attention.

It is well that it should be so. No one will deny that the housing problem, which directly affects the physical, social and moral health of large numbers, should be given foremost consideration.

The emphasis on housing is understandable since the primary aims of the financial provisions of existing Canadian legislation – the most important being incorporated in the $National\ Housing\ Act$ – are the eradication of residential blight and the improvement of urban housing conditions.

We must realize, however, that urban renewal cannot be restricted to the clearance of residential slums and the improvement of the housing stock. The various processes of deterioration, commonly called blight, do not affect houses only, but all forms of urban land use. To be successful, therefore, urban renewal action should be conceived and executed so as to encompass all city conditions in need of conservation, rehabilitation and redevelopment, irrespective of their present use.

BLIGHT HAS MANY FORMS

The causes of blight may often be hidden and therefore escape casual observation. On the other hand, the physical and external forms of blight are usually very apparent: a length of broken sidewalk or asphalt pavement which has been improperly constructed or neglected for too long, a littered park, a piece of land used as a private dump for refuse of all sorts, smoke and soot, noise and odour, so generously dispensed by some factories. Blighted also is the street strangulated by heavy traffic, because the intensive commercial uses along its sides lack parking, loading and other service facilities. Blight exists even in old abandoned graveyards which are often totally neglected. Blight may take all these and many other forms, for it occurs throughout the city in infinite variety.

It may be useful to present a list of what may be considered important causes of blight and to examine the conditions under which it is likely to develop in commercial and industrial areas.

COMMERCIAL BLIGHT

A retail commercial area, which at one time may have been active and prosperous, may now show growing, or very advanced, signs of deterioration. This situation may have been brought about by one or several causes:

- (1) The population which constituted its original market may have migrated elsewhere, and the surrounding district may have been transformed into an industrial or warehousing area.
- (2) While there may still be residents in the neighbourhood, the income level, and, consequently, the buying power may have decreased considerably.
- (3) The shopping district may have failed to adapt itself physically to changing shopping habits. With bigger and better refrigerators, with widespread car ownership, and with a larger number of housewives holding outside employment, family shopping, especially for food and common household items, is becoming a once-a-week, motorized affair instead of a daily trip on foot, as it was in the past. All this means larger stores, new retailing methods and services, parking, and a host of other facilities.
- 4) Some retail outlets may have been seriously affected by the modification of the character of the street along which they are located. Widening or lengthening may have converted it into a major traffic artery, a function which is incompatible with certain commercial uses.
- (5) The shopping area may have been the victim of a mass migration of a large portion of the retail commercial function fom one district of the city to another. This

The Author

Mr. Potvin was born in Chandler, P.Q., attended school there and in Bathurst, New Brunswick and received a B.A. degree from Sacred Heart University in 1948. In 1949 he entered the Institut d'Histoire et de Géographie at Laval University and obtained the License-ès-Lettres (Géographie) in 1951. Since 1951, he has been Lecturer in Geography at the University of Toronto. He took part in the Urban Renewal Study of the City of Toronto in 1955-56 and was Director of the Saint John Urban Renewal Study in 1956-57.

COMMERCIAL BLIGHT. No offstreet parking; no unloading space; overcrowding of structures on land; intermixture of land uses; rail crossing of the access street.

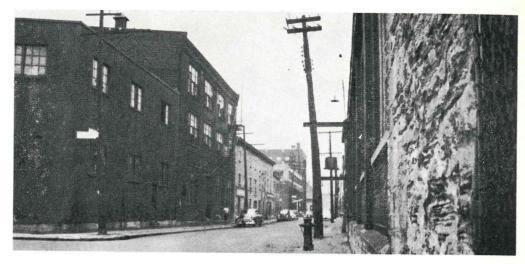
DÉLABREMENT COMMERCIAL. Pas de stationnement en dehors des rues; aucun espace pour le déchargement; trop de constructions sur le terrain; emplois mélangés du terrain; passage à niveau dans une rue secondaire.

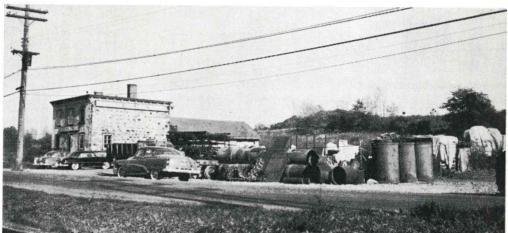
Commercial Blight Knows No Boundaries. A common scene in rural areas. The primary cause: improper land use.

Le délabrement commercial ne connaît pas de bornes. Une scène fréquente dans les régions rurales. La cause première: emploi inapproprié du terrain.

COMMERCIAL BLIGHT IN A SMALL CITY. Poor construction; inadequate maintenance; public facilities almost non-existent.

DÉLABREMENT COMMERCIAL DANS UNE PETITE CITÉ. Construction médiocre; entretien insuffisant; facilités publiques à peu près inexistantes.





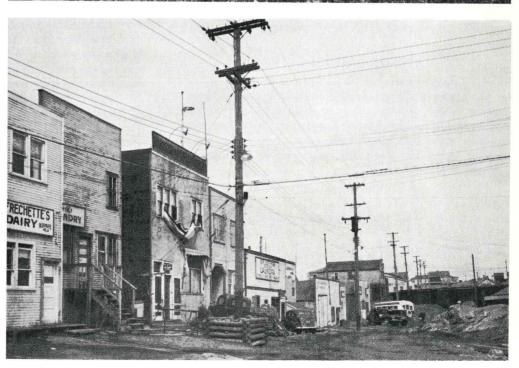
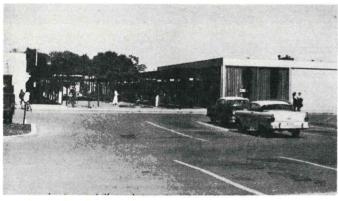


Photo: National Film Board







Shopping habits and marketing methods do change.

Les méthodes que l'on adopte pour faire ses emplettes ou tenir boutique changent avec le temps.

retail function may now be concentrated in a suburban type of shopping centre, which has superior facilities, and more successful marketing methods.

(6) The retail commercial area may suffer from old age, which may mean that it can no longer perform its function economically or that it is seriously impaired structurally.

BLIGHT AND INDUSTRY

The deterioration of an industrial district may also be due to one or several conditions acting as contributing factors. Some of these may of course be longstanding economic difficulties having a general depressing effect upon an entire region or locality. But many of the factors causing industrial blight are very specific and apply to individual plants and facilities.

- (1) Lack of adequate indoor or outdoor storage facilities.
- (2) Lack of proper service facilities, such as loading and unloading.
- (3) Lack of space for expansion, resulting in overuse of structures or land.
- (4) Preservation of outdated and often obnoxious processes and failure to install effective controlling devices.
- (5) Modification in the industrial traffic pattern, such as a shift from railway to trucking, resulting in the

overuse of inadequate arteries and consequent strangulation.

(6) Intrusion of marginal uses occupying, at low cost, vacated old and obsolete buildings, while their operators are unwilling or financially incapable of ensuring adequate rehabilitation and proper maintenance.

(7) Lack of structural flexibility of buildings, making it uneconomical or physically impossible to adapt them to modern processes or new uses.

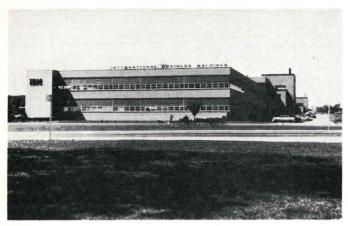
(8) Improper zoning, which allows undesirable uses on certain sites and the mixing of incompatible uses.

This list of causes of blight is by no means complete. Nevertheless, the causes mentioned are adequate to illustrate what could be called factors of functional obsolescence and impaired performance. These may often be merely latent—not readily observable; but almost invariably they will eventually be expressed in physical and external forms of blight.

These are the shabby and decrepit structures which are so many blots on the face of our cities. Just as there are residential slums, so are there blighted commercial and industrial buildings or groups of buildings, sometimes in the very heart of the central business district.

SYMPTOMS OF BLIGHT SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED

The causes of structural dilapidation or serious lack of maintenance are seldom imputable to the negligence of owners and tenants.



Some recent suburban development is of high quality; but as the scene at the right shows, newness does not preclude blight.

One may observe many commercial or industrial properties in an early or advanced state of deterioration. The rate of frequency of change of ownership or tenancy of such buildings may become well marked. Building after building may cease to be in active use or be turned over to marginal uses. It is easy to see that all these occurrences are symptoms of blight, but seldom will people stop to think further about them and make a serious investigation into the circumstances that brought these conditions about. This is probably one of the reasons why so little is done in the way of recognizing symptoms for what they are and of applying proper corrective measures.

THE COST OF BLIGHT COULD BE ENORMOUS

To the municipality, the cost of commercial and industrial blight may be enormous. It means amongst other things, increased expenses for protection and servicing. A large number of deteriorated buildings or extensively blighted areas mean lower property values which are reflected in a lower municipal assessment. This is, in turn, likely to affect the city's credit position and borrowing power. The cost of blight is also reflected in lower annual revenue, unless higher tax rates are resorted to, or new imposts (other than the real property tax) are created.

These higher tax rates and new imposts affect not only the owners of blighted properties but the entire tax paying public. It is also the whole community of citizens who are likely to pay the costs of extensive blight. Blight is likely to result in impaired and uneconomic overall performance and may even lead to impaired city development. The business climate, the atmosphere which favours business growth and prosperity, is likely to give way to stagnation in a city where blight is constantly spreading. Furthermore, such conditions may affect considerably the extent to which a locality may succeed in attracting outside capital for investment in new commercial and industrial enterprises.



Certains établissements récents en banlieue sont remarquables; mais, si l'on en juge par la vue à droite, le nouveau n'exclut pas nécessairement le délabrement.

WHAT ARE THE REMEDIES?

The answer to this question is simple and may be expressed in three words—describing the three facets of urban renewal action: CONSERVATION, REHABILITATION and REDEVELOPMENT.

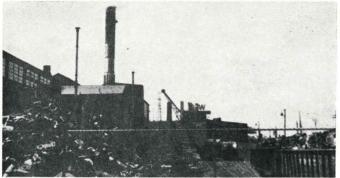
Conservation constitutes the least expensive and, in the long run, the most effective of these three phases. It includes all the steps necessary for the protection and maintenance of what is good and worthy of preservation.

Conservation implies that the owner of a commercial or industrial property will see that it is properly maintained and kept in good repair. He will also do everything within his means to enhance the quality, appearance and value of his property, thus contributing towards making his city a more attractive place in which to live and work.

Conservation implies that the tenants of commercial and industrial properties and business operators will refrain from engaging in practices that are incompatible with this goal.

The cause of conservation would be well served by a body of devoted and enlightened citizens who, through continuous organized effort based upon sound guidance, would constitute a permanent sponsoring and initiating agency for effective action. Such a group of citizens would see to it that failure or neglect in enacting or implementing protective regulations on the part of the local administrative bodies would be brought to the immediate attention of the responsible authorities, and promptly corrected.

A conservation program imposes upon the government of a city the responsibility to use its powers to ensure full protection of existing qualities and values. Such a responsibility should prevent the municipality from enacting legislation or engaging in practices detrimental to these qualities and values. Conservation measures may include the revision of the zoning by-law, the building code, the maintenance and occupancy code, the



health code, the fire protection regulations and other relevant legislation such as that relating to smoke abatement and the prevention of air and water pollution. Conservation may necessitate a system of closer and more frequent field inspections and a stricter application of the penalties provided for infraction of the regulations. It is

of conservation among the citizens.

REHABILITATION: A WORTHY INVESTMENT

also the duty of the authorities to promote an awareness

REHABILITATION, the second aspect of urban renewal action, is necessary in commercial and industrial properties and in areas where conditions of blight already exist but have not yet caused such an advanced state of deterioration as to render these properties and areas incapable of effective and economic redemption. The aims of rehabilitation are therefore very clear: to control blight and deterioration in their initial stages and thereby prevent

their further spread.

The responsibility for commercial and industrial rehabilitation falls squarely upon the shoulders of the owners or tenants of the properties involved. Since they are industrialists and business men, the need for rehabilitation and its short term and long term benefits for their business operations should be so apparent to them as to make any further elaboration on this subject unnecessary. Conservation and rehabilitation are good sound business practices. In order that they be successful, there are only two essential conditions: first, an active collaboration between the municipal authorities on one hand and the industrialists and commercial operators on the other hand, in the formulation and enforcement of certain minimum standards conducive to the prevention and control of blight; secondly, an enlightened attitude on the part of the industrialists and commercial operators, which will lead them for the sake of plain good business to implement on their premises self-imposed standards likely to enhance both quality and value.

REDEVELOPMENT: OFTEN THE ONLY REMEDY

The third aspect of urban renewal action, REDEVELOP-MENT—involving the clearance of blighted buildings in sizeable areas and their replacement or relocation—is the most drastic. It may be made necessary by a more ad-

These uses have a place in the city, but they call for careful planning.

Ces entreprises ont leur place dans la cité. Il appartient aux règlements de zonage de la bien préciser.

vanced condition of deterioration, resulting from lack of maintenance and longstanding neglect or from poor construction. However, in the case of commercial and industrial functions, the need for redevelopment can very often be attributed to factors over which effective control may have proved impossible. Some of these circumstances have been mentioned earlier.

We must remember that, while cities are made up of people, they also consist of a great number and variety of activities and functions. Each city incorporates a piece of territory over which land uses are distributed in a variety of patterns. While the territory may remain the same, the other components of a city, the people, the activities, the functions, the land uses, are not usually static; they are endowed with a certain dynamism, a capacity and a tendency for evolution in both time and space. While the forces engendering growth are not equal everywhere, we can understand that any degree of change is likely to create pressures at given times and places. The number, tastes, needs and living habits of people do change; production, processing, marketing methods and equipment change; transportation methods, for both people and goods, can be revolutionized in less than two decades. Since we admit this, it is logical to expect that these changes will result in more or less frequent modifications of the functions and distribution of land uses within a city. Cities must grow, and this growth implies redevelopment.

WHO PAYS FOR COMMERCIAL OR INDUSTRIAL REDEVELOPMENT?

The clearance of industrial and commercial slums may be initiated and financed by a municipality, as a byproduct of major work projects such as the widening of a street or the construction of an important thoroughfare in a built-up section of a city.

Similarly, clearance may occur when land is needed for some public or institutional use. A new city hall or civic centre, the erection or enlargement of federal or provincial government offices, hospitals, schools and universities, municipal sports arena, municipal parking garages—all these new or expanding functions, since they often need to be centrally located, account for the eradication of some commercial and industrial blight.

Again, this may occur as a by-product of a major slum clearance and rehousing project for which finances may be provided by two or three levels of government.

While these substantial forms of clearance may occur, it remains true that, under present circumstances, the primary responsibility for initiating and financing commercial and industrial redevelopment—and this means both clearance and replacement on the same site, or relocation elsewhere—rests with private enterprise, that is, with commercial and industrial property owners or with real estate development companies.

ROLE OF THE MUNICIPALITY

While the initiative and the money must come mainly from private sources, the local authority has nevertheless a very important duty towards commercial and industrial redevelopment. Its role is one of guidance. This duty is made more imperative by the conditions under which commercial and industrial redevelopment occurs. These conditions are quite different from those prevailing in government-sponsored residential redevelopment projects, covering sizeable areas and where overall planning control is thereby made easier and more effective. With commercial and industrial functions, action is dependent upon individual, unrelated and scattered efforts, the

redevelopment units are small and the sequence is erratic. It is nevertheless essential, if redevelopment is to be successful, that individual efforts be made to produce in time a coherent and efficient overall result.

A CITY PLANNING POLICY IS ESSENTIAL

The forms of guidance which a municipality must give are all to be found in a far-sighted, positive city planning policy. Such a policy should be initiated and formulated in cooperation and mutual trust by an enlightened city council and a technically qualified planning agency. It should be implemented effectively by means of all the instruments and devices available. Amongst these may be emphasized the frequent dissemination of all relevant information amongst the interested public, and a well planned long-range program of mass education in all aspects of redevelopment.

The above comments have not by any means covered all aspects of commercial and industrial blight, a subject which is indeed wide, complex and seldom recognized. Nevertheless, these thoughts may serve to stimulate study of the problems, leading ultimately to action to combat the inefficiency and squalor of industrial and commercial slums.

DELABREMENT COMMERCIAL ET INDUSTRIEL

Sommaire de l'auteur, M. Georges Potvin

Les discussions en matière de rénovation urbaine ont, dans le passé, porté principalement sur les problèmes se rattachant au délabrement résidentiel. Cela est compréhensible. Le problème du logement est de première importance, puisque le bien-être physique, social et moral d'un grand nombre de citadins en découle. Cette importance a été reconnue par nos législateurs. Les dispositions financières que contiennent nos lois — et en particulier la Loi nationale sur l'habitation — sont destinées en tout premier lieu à l'assainissement des taudis et à l'amélioration des conditions du logement dans nos villes.

Mais les quartiers de logements ne sont pas les seuls à être attaqués par les chancres qui causent la détérioration. Il est donc essentiel que les projets de rénovation urbaine englobent toutes les formes d'utilisation du territoire.

Parmi les causes nombreuses qui amènent la détérioration des quartiers commerciaux, mentionnons:

(1) l'amoindrissement ou la perte de la clientèle par suite d'une migration de la population du voisinage;

- (2) l'amoindrissement du pouvoir d'achat correspondant à une diminution du revenu moyen dans le voisinage;
- (3) le défaut d'adaptation des immeubles aux conditions changeantes du commerce de détail;
- (4) la changement de caractère ou de fonction de certaines rues:

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d'entretien, d'hygiène publique et de protection contre l'incendie sont-ils assez rigoureux? Ou sont-ils seulement des textes en bibliothèque?

Industry, housing and warehousing form a shocking mixture along these downtown alleys. Are existing building, maintenance, sani-

Un affreux pêle-mêle d'usines, de logements et d'entrepôts le long de ces ruelles de bas de ville. Les codes existants de construction,

Industry, housing and warehousing form a shocking mixture along these downtown alleys. Are existing building, maintenance, sanitation, and fire protection codes not stringent enough? Or are they "just for the books"?

(5) la concurrence des grands centres d'achat;

(6) la vétusté des immeubles.

La détérioration des secteurs industriels se rattache souvent à des facteurs tels que:

(1) le manque d'espace d'entreposage;

(2) le manque de services adéquats, tels que ceux qui sont requis pour le chargement et le déchargement des marchandises;

(3) le manque d'espace pour fins d'expansion;

(4) l'utilisation non contrôlée de procédés industriels nocifs;

(5) les changements dans les moyens de transport sans modifications correspondantes des voies de communication et des services s'y rattachant;

(6) l'intrusion d'entreprises qui utilisent des immeubles vétustes sans les améliorer;

(7) la présence d'édifices qui ne peuvent être adaptés aux changements successifs de procédés et d'usages;

(8) des règlements de zonage mal conçus, permettant l'intrusion d'entreprises de caractère nocif ou l'établissement dans un même secteur d'entreprises incompatibles.

Les causes de détérioration ne sont pas toujours faciles à reconnaître. Il s'agit souvent de facteurs latents, qui ne peuvent être décelés qu'à l'examen sérieux des symptômes. Ces derniers sont ordinairement apparents.

La détérioration des quartiers industriels et commerciaux représente une perte financière qui peut être énorme. Le coût des services de protection augmente. Le chiffre total de l'évaluation municipale, reflétant la valeur amoindrie des immeubles détériorés, peut influer défavorablement sur le crédit et le pouvoir d'emprunt d'une ville. Les revenus municipaux sont également diminués, à moins de recours à des taux de taxation plus élevés ou à la création d'impôts supplémentaires, autres que la taxe foncière. Il est évident que ces conditions fiscales n'affectent pas seulement les propriétaires de taudis, mais tous les citoyens. Il se peut même que le développement économique de la cité en souffre sérieusement.

Quels sont les remèdes? Il y en a trois: la protection, la réfection et la reconstruction.

Les mesures de protection constituent le remède le moins coûteux et, à la longue, le plus efficace. Il faut maintenir et protéger la valeur des immeubles et des secteurs sains et utiles. Tous doivent y concourir: les propriétaires d'immeubles industriels et commerciaux, les locataires de ces immeubles, l'autorité municipale et des citoyens dévoués et éclairés.

La réfection et l'amélioration des immeubles en voie de détérioration constituent un second remède, dont la nécessité et le profit doivent être manifestes à tout homme d'affaires digne de ce nom. C'est le devoir des industriels et des commerçants d'assurer le maintien et, si possible, la plus-value de leurs immeubles.

La reconstruction devient nécessaire lorsque la détérioration des immeubles est trop avancée, par suite du manque prolongé d'entretien ou des défauts inhérents à la structure des édifices. Mais le besoin de reconstruire peut se rattacher parfois à d'autres causes qui sont inévitables parce qu'elles sont liées étroitement à l'évolution urbaine dans l'espace et le temps. Croissance et développement impliquent changements constants et, par conséquent, réaménagement.

La reconstruction d'immeubles industriels et commerciaux est initiée et payée par la municipalité lorsqu'elle est liée à la réalisation de certains projets d'intérêt public nécessitant l'expropriation. L'assainissement de quartiers de taudis peut parfois comporter le réaménagement de certains emplacements industriels et commerciaux, aux frais conjoints de deux ou trois gouvernements.

Il reste vrai cependant que, dans les circonstances présentes, les projets de reconstruction industrielle ou commerciale doivent le plus souvent être payés par l'entreprise privée. Ils résultent donc d'initiatives individuelles et dispersées.

C'est pourquoi il appartient à l'autorité municipale de contrôler et de guider tous ces efforts pour qu'ils puissent produire, malgré leur caractère erratique, des résultats d'ensemble qui soient cohérents et aussi peu défectueux que possible.

Un urbanisme bien conçu fournira à l'autorité municipale les directives et les moyens qui lui permettront de conduire à bien cette tâche essentielle.

REDEVELOPMENT FORESTALLED: A CASE FOR AREA REHABILITATION

by Stanley H. Pickett

This article contains the substance of an address delivered by Mr. Pickett at a Conference of Building Officials held in Ottawa under the sponsorship of the National Research Council April 16, 1958. Mr. Pickett was then Urban Redevelopment Officer of CPAC. He is now a member of the Advisory Group in the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

In 1951 there were nearly 485,000 houses in need of major repair in Canada: that is, about $13\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the total stock. The census of that year shows that in the major metropolitan areas there were 109,000 houses in need of major repair, or about $8\frac{1}{2}\%$ of all the houses in those areas. The attention of town planners in particular has been fixed on these deficient homes and we have become all too familiar with the ugly face of blighted Canada.

The existence of large numbers of blighted houses is cited, and properly so, as one of the reasons for undertaking large scale urban redevelopment. I would like to suggest that this emphasis on slums and blight is perhaps a little misleading, for if we turn back to the 1951 census we find that throughout Canada there were almost 3 million houses in good or fairly good condition and even in the metropolitan areas there were 1½ million houses in the same state. Of the 1½ million non-blighted houses, some are of the very highest quality from the point of view of construction, spaciousness and livability. These are the élite of the housing stock.

The great gulf between the élite and the slums is filled by the run-of-the-mill mass of dwellings. The condition of our housing stock can be likened to a spectrum, running from the élite blue through gradations down to the dark red of the worst slum areas. If we were to take a look at the middle part of our spectrum, the greens, yellows and oranges so to speak, we would find the infinite variety of ordinary Canadian homes—built any time in the past 150 years; built of stone, brick or timber; maintained in an average way.

Our primary concern to date has been redevelopment. The National Housing Act refers to urban redevelopment, not to renewal. This is natural; it springs from human instincts to do something to remedy the lot of those who are most unfortunate. It springs from the urge to eliminate some of the ugliness, some of the degradation, from parts of our cities. It springs from a desire to use our limited areas of urban land in the best way. For these reasons, we have tended to start first of all in the worst areas. This is so in St. John's, Halifax, Toronto and Montreal.

POLICY CHANGE IN PHILADELPHIA

I would like to quote from a report made last year by the Development Co-ordinator of the City of Philadelphia, a city which has been one of the brightest stars in the United States renewal scene. After years of renewal experience, the co-ordinator reports:

"A major shift in policy for redeveloping and renewing the city's older residential neighborhoods has now been agreed on by key officials in the City Administration. . . . To understand this change, it is necessary to consider the formulation of the present policy some 7 or 8 years ago. When the City officials looked over the problem areas at that time, they naturally selected the worst areas—the very heart of the slums—as the place to start work. These were the areas of greatest need, and so the limited resources available were put into tearing down the worst houses on the worst streets. . . .

". . . About \$10 million of City, State, and Federal redevelopment funds and outlays for such "non-cash" activity as construction of schools and playgrounds have gone into the program. Even in this day and age, \$10 million is a lot of money. More important, only a little over 2 per cent of the slums have been wiped out. Only a small number of blocks are better than they were.

"It had been hoped that an 'island of good' would favorably affect the 'swamp of bad' immediately surrounding it. Unfortunately, the reverse has proved true. Because they disliked such neighborhoods, people living in sub-standard homes in other parts of the city have not moved into the good new middle-income accommodation. And families displaced from the demolition sites have moved to the streets immediately adjacent, further overcrowding the houses there and turning what were sometimes only somewhat bad into totally bad sections. Further, experience indicates that, when the time comes to tear down the buildings in such nearby sections, the cost to the City will probably be even higher than it would have been before.

"Thus, the consequence of starting in the worst areas is that the total cost of redeveloping existing slums is



ORLEANS AVENUE, NEW ORLEANS. These old houses lacked indoor toilets and baths. The exterior was deteriorated, the wood rotten in places and the wiring inadequate. Rents were \$25-30 a month.

ORLEANS AVENUE, NOUVELLE-ORLÉANS. Ces vieilles maisons n'avaient pas de salles de toilette ou de bain, à l'intèrieur. L'extérieur s'était détérioré; le bois était pourri à certains endroits et la canalisation électrique n'était pas satisfaisante. Les loyers variaient de \$25-30 par mois.

increased. And, at the same time those good areas beginning to show signs of blight are neglected and even preventive action is impossible. Continuation of this approach would mean that, 10 or 20 years hence, areas which could now be saved would be hopelessly lost, and the terrible — and expensive — process of tearing out slums would have to be carried out there, too.

"The conclusion is inescapable that, to be fully effective, the job of slum clearance should be done on a total neighborhood basis and more quickly than in the past. In fact, desirably, all the older residential neighborhoods should be worked on at once—with solid slum clearance in all the worst areas and spot clearance, improvement of community facilities and private rehabilitation to the degree needed in all the areas of lesser blight—down to and including the conservation areas where only the first signs of blight need be eliminated."

Of course, Philadelphia experience does not necessarily apply everywhere, but, based as it is on long and successful experience of urban redevelopment, it is a useful point of departure for this article.

NEIGHBOURHOOD REHABILITATION

We must of course go ahead with redevelopment, but at the same time we must look to other techniques for the conservation and rehabilitation of property which has a further useful life before it. Rehabilitation can be described as making good a building or an area which has depreciated, so that the process of depreciation will be arrested and the onset of blight prevented. Conservation is simply applying sound maintenance standards to property and areas which are already good. Of the techniques which we must apply, perhaps neighbourhood conservation may prove to be the most vital. There has often been discussion about the meaning of "neighbourhood". I am regarding a neighbourhood as an area having

within its boundaries, schools, parks, playgrounds, churches and shops for the normal day-to-day requirements of its population. It is also an area which is not divided into segments by major highways, but rather has highways running around its periphery. In this way a neighbourhood has within it relatively quiet safe streets where pedestrian movement to school or shop is a more orderly progress than the sprinting between traffic to which we are all reduced in the unplanned and often unsatisfactory neighbourhoods of our cities. I think it is perfectly possible to improve many of these older neighbourhoods so that they substantially attain contemporary design standards. It seems to me that for this renewal of vitality to be achieved there must be a positive approach to rehabilitation and conservation. The ostrich-like attitude which reiterates "there must be no change" leads to stagnation. The essence of urban life is change. Neighbourhood conservation demands change. In order to rehabilitate the neighbourhood we must not make it into a folk museum but rather give it a blood transfusion. We must not zone it restrictively but plan it dynamically. It has been said that it is impossible to delineate viable neighbourhoods amongst the complexity of a developed city. I agree that it is difficult, but surely not impossible. Many compromises with the ideal of a neighbourhood may have to be made. There may be areas of the city left over which do not naturally fall into any neighbourhood. Yet as a basis for further investigation, as a basis for rehabilitation on an area-wide scale, adequate delineation of neighbourhoods is possible.

For old neighbourhoods to live there must first of all be careful study, which will disclose many deficiencies. There may be a lack of playground space or of open space; there may be an absence of trees; there may be deficiency of schools, churches, shops or residential service facilities. The street pattern may be quite unsuitable After Rehabilitation. The New Orleans houses after all defects were corrected. Each house now lets for \$45-55 a month.

Après la rénovation. Les maisons de Nouvelle-Orléans, après avoir corrigé toutes les déffectuosités. Chaque maison se loue maintenant à \$45-55 par mois.



The two photographs have been received through the kindness of the Division of Housing Improvement of the City of New Orleans.

for contemporary living. I think that by selective acquisition and demolition of property it is possible for many neighbourhood facilities to be introduced which will improve the whole area and encourage people to move into it rather than out of it, as is so often the case. In many cities there is a paradox, in that older neighbourhoods are either under or over-populated. In the redevelopment areas which are badly blighted there is almost inevitably severe overcrowding, for accommodation, such as it is, is relatively cheap, but in the more substantial older neighbourhoods, those built by the merchants of Victorian and Edwardian times for example, there is often under-population. I wonder how many large houses there are in Canada with eight or ten rooms accommodating just two or three people. That sort of restrictive zoning which insists that large old houses be maintained as single family dwellings can be the death warrant of the neighbourhood. Let us have a positive approach to the conversion of property so that large houses may be used in such a way that they will become economic. If there is a demand adjacent to a business district for additional office or commercial accommodation it may be possible to accept that demand and carry out planned development in such a way that there will be improvement to the neighbourhood as a whole. I am not advocating the removal of all restrictions and the opening of old residential neighbourhoods to indiscriminate penetration by commercial interests, but I am suggesting that the neighbourhood should be examined as a unit and that whatever is needed to make it a vital, economic and socially sound neighbourhood can, and should, be provided.

THE OBJECTIVE AND TECHNIQUE OF REHABILITATION

The primary objective of the rehabilitation of the neighbourhood is an improved environment for living for

the inhabitants, but there will be other scarcely less important consequences. The increased attractiveness of the area will encourage people to move into it. This will do something to reduce the demand for further uneconomic extensions of the city utilities and facilities into the countryside. There will be perhaps a reduction in the demand for personal transportation into and out of the city centre. These changes would be a boon to the whole community. I think it is not too much to claim that the revitalization of old neighbourhoods could do much to alleviate many of the problems posed by urban growth.

Things which might be done in neighbourhood rehabilitation, following careful survey, include the provision of small playgrounds; the construction of shops; the creation of green breathing spaces as places in which to rest amid the urban scene; the planting of trees; the clearance of isolated houses too badly blighted to be economically rehabilitated; the designation of major and minor streets followed by a program to eliminate unnecessary cross-streets and intersections. By careful design it may be possible at modest cost to convert the old grid street pattern into a series of U streets and cul-de-sacs. A very interesting study along these lines was made last year in London, Ontario, in a nine block area. It was found that the changes needed to convert the nine blocks into four U-shaped courts would cost about \$6000 for each intersection, or \$25,000 in all.

In the renewal study of the City of Toronto there are several illustrated projects for neighbourhood improvement where rehabilitation of individual properties is to be accompanied by improvements to the streets and to public property by the introduction of green spaces, streets and parking areas. The recently published Redevelopment Study in Vancouver also recognizes the importance of area-wide rehabilitation, and makes some

valuable recommendations for legislation, for public action and for education.

MAINTENANCE AND OCCUPANCY BY-LAWS

The success of area-wide rehabilitation schemes will obviously depend not only upon those changes which can be effected by the public authority but upon the proper care and maintenance of all the individual properties. For rehabilitation to be successful it is essential for it to occur within the context of a sound comprehensive development plan but it also demands the enactment and continuous enforcement of adequate occupancy and maintenance by-laws. In Halifax, Nova Scotia, a new maintenance of buildings ordinance has had to be worded to a very low standard by contemporary requirements in order that there may be a reasonable chance of bringing buildings up to the requirements in the redevelopment areas of that city. Percentage deficiencies of between 10 and 30 per cent below the low requirements of the ordinance are disclosed in that city's Renewal Report. In areas which are sound, or which are only just beginning to feel the touch of blight, we should apply more stringent standards in order to prevent conditions such as those in parts of Halifax, and many other cities, from developing. It is equally important that by-laws relating to occupancy should be passed and enforced. A building constructed in conformity with good building by-laws and maintained in sound condition still contains the seeds of the future slum if it is allowed to be grossly overcrowded or occupied in an improper way-having, for example, families in the basement or on the first floor without adequate bathroom or kitchen facilities. It may sound a rather sweeping generalization, but I think it true to say that in Canadian cities, maintenance by-laws, where they exist, are both inadequate and capriciously enforced. By-laws affecting occupancy are uncommon.

REHABILITATION IN PRACTICE

There is a regrettable lack of rehabilitation experience in Canada. I know of no municipal plan which has established rehabilitation or conservation areas, although the Toronto Urban Renewal Study does make some typical proposals along these lines. This is a valuable beginning. Efforts to promote rehabilitation are made in some cities by the provision of municipal funds for improvements to dwellings. This again is suggested in the Vancouver Study. I am best acquainted with the provisions in the Maritimes where in Saint John, N.B. there is a city fund, not too widely used, under which money can be made available for rehabilitation at low rates of interest. In St. John's, Newfoundland, the city makes money available in a similar way but has so far restricted the purposes for which the money may be used, to the installation of water and sewer connections and fittings. In the Redevelopment Study of the central area of St. John's, which I carried out in 1953, the suggestion was made that these provisions should be extended to cover the repair of

external wall surfaces, the repair of roofs, the clearing of old sheds and fences and the construction of new fences and even external painting of the structure. There are, I am sure, other cities where municipal loans are available for reconditioning, and are subsequently recovered through taxes.

In the United States, from the many examples of successful rehabilitation over areas ranging from a row or a single block to several city blocks, I know of no case where rehabilitation and conservation have been applied effectively over the area of an entire neighbourhood, although of course work is going ahead all the time and in cities such as Baltimore and Philadelphia the area renovated is not insignificant. Other cities which have achieved good results include New Orleans, St. Louis, Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati, Kansas City and Cleveland.

The method employed in most of these American cities follows a recognizable pattern. The initiative has usually come from a citizens' group of some sort—it may have been a neighbourhood association; it may have been a real estate group; it may have been a town planning group or a social agency. These citizens' organizations have conducted active campaigns aimed at City Hall, in consequence of which new maintenance and occupancy ordinances have been passed or, alternatively, existing ordinances have become effectively and continuously enforced by a considerable extension of the process of inspection, in accordance with a systematic plan. Perhaps the best way to deal with American experience is to give details of one typical operation:

In New Orleans in 1953 a business group concerned about the condition of the city, established a citizens' committee-The City Housing and Rehabilitation Committee-which organized a housing survey and found that approximately 43% of the city's houses were substandard, about 30,000 houses had no running water and about 44,000 were without a private bath. The citizens' committee then, in the best American tradition, went to City Hall, advocating the establishment of modern safety, sanitation and health regulations, as well as up-to-date building, plumbing and electrical codes. The city was also asked to pass a minimum standards housing ordinance and to create a municipal agency with authority to enforce all the housing ordinances and laws. The city was urged to appropriate funds to operate this overall housing agency, and to agree to plan its municipal services and facilities so that capital works would be in harmony with the conservation effort. Most of these recommendations were accepted and there is today a Division of Housing Improvement and Slum Prevention employing between 25 and 30 people with an annual budget of about \$100,000. It has been estimated that this Division has generated about \$10 million worth of repair business which otherwise would not have been undertaken. The Division also estimates that because of the enforcement program resulting in improved residential areas, about 15,000 dwellings have

A good example of rehabilitation. Three old buildings have been converted into this spacious, modern store which is now well adapted structurally to its new function.

Une rénovation bien réussie. On a transformé trois vieux édifices en un magasin spacieux d'aspect moderne dont la construction a été adaptée à sa destination.

been voluntarily repaired in areas adjacent to those where rehabilitation was required under the City Ordinances. In New Orleans, the areas which are tackled by the Housing Improvement Division are designated by the City Planning Commission. The designated areas are then inspected by the Division of Housing Improvement and meetings are held with owners and tenants at the same time as the house-by-house inspections are made. All property owners are advised of the city's plans. As soon as the inspection has been made formal notice is sent to the owner specifying deficiencies. The owner may then either make repairs or may request a hearing. It is interesting to note that where property owners are unable to secure financing to make the repairs required by the City they are referred to a sub-committee of the original citizens group, whose members are in the financing and lending field. This group endeavours to work out equitable financing for hardship cases. The Housing Division provides owners with a list of contractors who have agreed to a fair practices code thus protecting the owners and ensuring that the work is done for a reasonable amount. Inspectors remain in the area until the repairs have been completed. When repairs have been completed the owner is given an occupancy certificate from the City. When 75% conformity with the Code has been achieved all residents of the rehabilitated area are called together and encouraged to establish a permanent organization to maintain property standards and hence their environment. This is a typical United States operation, illustrating a close working relationship between elected bodies and citizens

In Great Britain also there are examples of successful rehabilitation. A well known example is the Brandon Estate in Southwark, London, where a 35-acre site near Kennington Park is the scene of a mixed redevelopment and rehabilitation project. The redevelopment comprises six 18-storey blocks of flats overlooking the park, together with groups of maisonettes and a new shopping centre. Behind these new structures, Victorian terraces, about 100 years old, are being rehabilitated by conversion of some buildings into apartments and the improvement of others to make five or six bedroom homes. The aim



of the London County Council is to preserve some of the local feeling which has grown up over the years in the area and to make a socially balanced development in which all age groups and family sizes can be accommodated. The average cost of these conversions is almost exactly half the average cost of housing units built by the Council—£1400 as against £2700.

FINANCING REHABILITATION

How is rehabilitation to be financed? The municipality can do a great deal to provide new neighbourhood facilities as part of the normal capital works expenditure and can also perform the vital preliminary delineation of rehabilitation areas. Unlike redevelopment, where very substantial federal aid is available, money for rehabilitation and conservation on an area-wide basis must come from other sources. There are of course federal financial aids which could be used if all the owners in an area cooperate, but in this imperfect age it is most unlikely that this will happen. Individual owners can use the provisions of the *National Housing Act* which are as follows:

Home Improvement Loans for a period of up to ten years. The loans can be used for repair, alteration or addition to property but are restricted to a building containing a maximum of four dwelling units, one of which must be occupied by the borrower. The loans may not exceed \$4,000 for one family dwelling or \$4,000 for the first unit plus \$1500 for each additional unit in a multiple dwelling to the maximum of four. These loans are secured by a promissory note and are probably not too much affected by tight money policies.

Another federal aid which could be used is the pauper's child of the *National Housing Act*, the Home Conversion Loan. I believe it is true to say that these loans have seldom been used. When I enquired from a bank in Ottawa whether they would be prepared to make a Conversion Loan, there was a highly suspicious rustling of paper whilst the Assistant Manager verified that these loans were not a figment of my imagination. In some old neighbourhoods, a Home Conversion Loan would I think be well suited to the job. There is no limit on the number of units which can be created, save that there must be

REDEVELOPMENT FORESTALLED

50% increase on the existing number of units, hence old houses can be converted into two units or a 4-apartment block extended by at least two more apartments. The loans are up to \$5,000 for each dwelling and are secured by a first mortgage for from eight to fifteen years. There is no requirement that the borrower must occupy one of the units. In a rehabilitation area an owner with a considerable amount of property might find this provision of the Act very attractive.

Both these forms of assistance depend upon the initiative and decision of the individual owner. There is nothing in the N.H.A. which can be used to finance areawide rehabilitation and unless rehabilitation is area-wide the investment in improving individual buildings is not protected and is unlikely to be widely used. I would like to suggest, for future consideration, that federal funds might be properly used for this purpose. Housing and municipal affairs are of course a matter for provincial jurisdiction, and some provinces may be willing to give financial assistance directly. Redevelopment is also a matter for the provinces, and if the federal government,

having obtained the agreement of the province, can deal directly with a municipality on redevelopment, I can see no objection in principle to their dealing directly with the municipality on area-wide rehabilitation, always provided that provincial consent is first obtained.

This article does not attempt to consider the rehabilitation of commercial or industrial areas, although this is a serious problem which needs to be tackled in a systematic way. I suggested at the outset that perhaps too much attention was being paid to the very worst houses and consequently to redevelopment. In conclusion, having I hope established a case for area-wide rehabilitation, let me emphasize that we should never waste money trying to rehabilitate either a building or an area which will not give a proper return on the capital investment. If an area is beyond rehabilitation then by all means let it be cleared and redeveloped. My plea is that we should recognize that there are many areas capable of rehabilitation and that delay in setting the process in motion leads inevitably to the higher costs and greater social difficulties of comprehensive redevelopment.

Réfection de district

Sommaire de l'article de M. Pickett

M. Pickett suggère qu'on attache trop peu d'importance à la réfection et à la conservation. En retardant la réfection et la conservation, nous devrons encourir les coûts élevés et les difficultés sociales plus grandes d'un réaménagement extensif.

La longue expérience de cités telles que Philadelphie révèle que le redéveloppement des pires taudis ne suffit pas. Les districts de délabrement partiel peuvent être épargnés par le déblaiement des propriétés en délabrement, par l'amélioration des services de la communauté et par la réfection particulière.

Le voisinage devrait être examiné avec soin comme entité unitaire. Par l'acquisition et la démolition soignées de propriétés, il est possible d'introduire certains services requis dans le voisinage (terrain de jeu, espace ouvert, arbres, écoles, églises, boutiques) qui améliorent tout le district et encourageront les gens à y déménager plutôt qu'à en partir, tel que la chose se pratique souvent. Par le truchement d'un plan soigné, il peut être possible de transformer l'ancien carrelage des rues en une série de rues en "U" et d'impasses. Les études de rénovation à Toronto et à Vancouver, par exemple, ont déjà reconnu l'importance d'une réfection de district et ont soumis des recommandations en conséquence.

Pour réaliser un certain succès, la réfection doit être projetée en plans, puis exécutée dans le contexte d'un plan compréhensif. Elle exige également la mise en vigueur et l'application soutenue de règlements municipaux satisfaisants visant l'occupation et l'entretien.

L'initiative d'une réfection réussie — comme dans des districts de Baltimore, Philadelphie, New Orleans, St. Louis et Détroit — a habituellement émané de groupes de citoyens.

THE ROLE OF THE ARCHITECT AND PLANNER IN REDEVELOPMENT

by Eric W. Thrift

... Man, who has become the master of so many things, even the uneasy master of the atom, is more than ever the servant of the city. This servitude often brings him great short-term economic reward but at the cost of his nerves, his health, and his dignity as man. Particularly in the American cities, he is denied the satisfaction of his need for order, identification, participation, and aesthetic enjoyment that rests the soul or stimulates the mind.

In the future, when man is even more crowded into urban places, city planners, architects and landscape architects must provide him not only with a more efficient urban machine but with a physical setting capable of meeting all of man's needs.

Such an urban scene will encourage the growth of urban activities—civic participation, sociability, cultural pursuits, and commerce. It will also contribute to the revitalization of urban values which is of great importance to the development of our culture.

WILLO VON MOLTKE AND EDMUND N. BACON: In Pursuit of Urbanity. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November 1957.

To create the urban scene of which von Moltke and Bacon speak, there is little doubt in most people's minds that our urban places, the cities and towns, will require a good deal of "urban redevelopment" within "renewal". In this sense, redevelopment is "city design"—"city building"; and I would like to emphasize the term "city design", or as some may prefer, "urban design".

As with any other kind of design, we need a competent designer or designers, and when I say competent I think of those who are sensitive to and experienced in the design of whole segments of the urban structure, not alone in the design of individual buildings.

Because I believe "city design" is so fundamentally important to the redevelopment or renewal process, I would like to define what I believe city design consists of. It seems to me it is a combination of civic planning, of architecture, and of civic and business administration. To be truly effective, "city design" must be based on the union of these several functions.

FUNCTIONS OF CITY DESIGN

Let's take a look at this combination, which I maintain is so vital to the effective use of urban redevelopment.

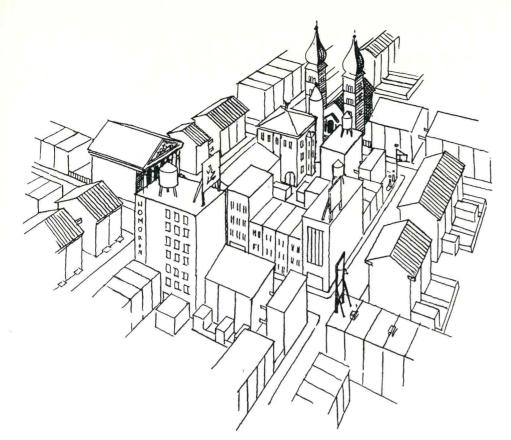
(1) There is planning which is generally concerned with the broad patterns of the whole city—too often,

apparently, only in two dimensions. A good deal of the time, the planner appears to be so concerned with the comprehensive problems of the city or metropolitan area as a whole that he seems able to pay small attention to building design. Buildings often look like minor detail to him.

(2) Next there is architecture, the producer of building design. In this case, the architect often shows little concern beyond the building which he is responsible for designing, plus its immediate setting. There has been a minor amount of attention paid to major building groups and to whole segments of cities in recent years.

Acknowledgement

Mr. Thrift delivered this address at the Fifty-first Annual Assembly of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada in Montreal on June 14, 1958. With the kind permission of the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, in which the address was published in July last, we are including it in this group of papers on urban redevelopment. Mr. Thrift is Director of the Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater Winnipeg and Vice President of the Community Planning Association of Canada.



"Neighbourhood Undifferentiated"

"Confusion obscures the valid symbols—the inherent structure."

"Monotony dulls the sense of belonging."

The sketches on these two pages are reproduced, with kind permission, from In Pursuit of Urbanity, the article by Willo von Moltke and Edmund N. Bacon, quoted by Mr. Thrift at the beginning of his paper.

(3) Then there is administration, taking many forms and originating from many sources: government (local, provincial, federal) and business, investment, construction and the like. The administrator often sets policy through legislation having to do with powers enabling different levels of government to carry out specific types of action, and with policy on financing and other business arrangements. To him these may appear to be of sole importance in the execution of business or governmental responsibilities. Design often appears to him to be something which can be bought and used for packaging.

Urban design, however, requires all three of these functions and the kinds of people who perform them, but more than that it demands harmony, balance and understanding among them. If this is not established, then any product in which they participate will suffer. Traditionally, of course, there has been a disregard of one another. There is ignorance of the other's importance which harms or destroys the possibility of achieving aesthetic order, social satisfaction, or economic success.

Redevelopment, being basically "urban design", requires designers capable of encompassing all of these responsibilities within their understanding, if not entirely within their individual competence. It is a peculiar challenge which few of us may be prepared to meet, either through our concern with the broad problems or through our experience in the field of urban design itself. Are we prepared and are we capable of doing this sort of thing? As architect to architect, I am not too sure that many of us are.

If we expect to become involved in urban renewal and have it produce effective results, then we must understand its peculiar characteristics and demands.

From the beginning through to execution, urban redevelopment can be an extended and protracted process, with the participating skills applied in varying degrees as the work proceeds; but it seems to me it is most important that they all participate from the beginning, and that they learn to understand the peculiar contribution of one another so that there is a team formed and not a competition established amongst the participants.

PLANNING

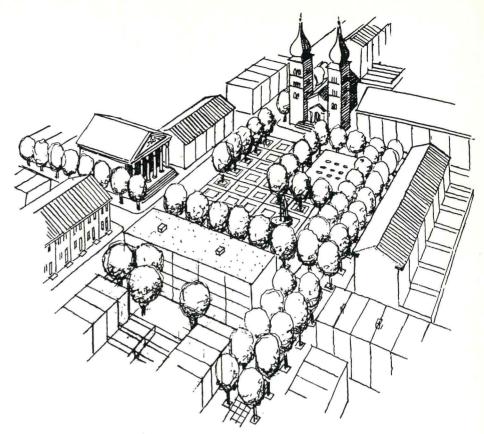
For the initial stages of urban redevelopment work, it would appear that the bulk of the labour will be likely to fall to the planner to carry out. The first job that must be done, of course, is that of determining where "urban redevelopment" may be required in the whole urban structure. This, of course, is a process that the planner has been talking about for years; but until a short time ago, there was little in the way of administrative or financing devices that were likely to make his proposals for reconstruction, rehabilitation, or conservation possible of execution. He had been talking in general terms over the years, about areas of his city that required various forms of treatment; but because of the lack of means to make it effective, he too seldom took the trouble to define those areas sharply and to specify in some detail what needed to be done with them. This he must now do, and until he does, no one knows what the nature of the job may be.

"Neighbourhood

Articulate"

"Old symbols given new status and relationships."

"New forms comfortably associated with old ones, establish continuity, give new focus."



DESIGN

While he is carrying on such a broad city-wide (or metropolitan-wide) study, to define the areas which require treatment and to specify the general nature of the treatment that may be applied, he needs competent, experienced design skills, either within his own capabilities or within the organization which works directly with him. He needs design skill at his shoulder from the outset.

The areas requiring treatment will vary a great deal in terms of what they need to put them in healthy condition. Some will require complete demolition and reconstruction; others will require removal and replacement of some buildings, provision of some open space, rehabilitation of some of the existing buildings; still others may require only a certain amount of conservation treatment, the rehabilitation of buildings, the provision of protective measures, and in some instances, minor public improvement.

The defining of areas for various forms of treatment may well be determined in part by what the skilled urban designer sees can be done with them. Where the planner alone might see complete demolition and reconstruction as necessary, the skilled eye of the designer may enable him to see other and perhaps less drastic techniques. Here, for example, may be where a peculiar skill, born of the understanding of urban structure and character, may generate ideas about area-wide improvements, uses of open space, may emphasize existing good buildings, and bring to light characteristics and urban qualities that may lie hidden in the seeming morass of urban decay. It

is, therefore, my opinion that competent architectural skills must be brought into play from time to time, throughout even the initial studies, particularly with respect to the different techniques that will be specified for the improvement of various areas.

ADMINISTRATION

At the same time, however, the policy maker administrator - financial expert, must be brought along through these initial steps too, because we may find ourselves with what we think is an adequate solution to certain urban renewal problems, only to be confronted with a complete lack of sympathy and understanding at civic or other administrative and financial levels. The methods of managing the work to be done, the techniques for financing it, are all part of the design, because these too must be adjusted and attuned to the particular work that needs to be done. Civic, provincial, and federal, administrative and financial techniques can be manipulated to fit their varying abilities and flexibilities to the peculiar requirements of the job we may have in hand. But the administrators must understand the development of ideas from the beginning, the peculiar requirements of given areas and the particular ways in which they may be developed, or they too will find that they are handicapped in performing their responsibilities.

Urban redevelopment is not a piece of work to be created as a masterpiece of design then handed to administration to find the means to execute it. Moreover, the amateur financial and administrative fiddling of the

rest of the team are far from adequate. We have seen plenty of examples of that in many places. The men who have the administrative and policy-making jobs to do and are sensitive to the effects of different administrative and financial techniques must participate, at least in some degree, from the beginning. They will be learning, as all will be learning, how these jobs may be done. All will be gaining experience, for I believe too little of such experience exists anywhere.

As an example of what I mean, with respect to administrative improvements or adjustments, many of our potential urban renewal areas exist in the metropolitan centres of our country. Complete solutions for their improvement may not be possible within the limits of one city or municipal jurisdiction.

They may turn out to be metropolitan problems for which solutions have to be taken on a metropolitan basis. Adequate urban regeneration in many of our urban areas cannot be confined completely to single municipal units.

In this connection it is interesting to read a statement that appeared in the recently published Rockefeller Brothers' Special Studies Report entitled The Challenge To America: Its Economic and Social Aspects:

"Aside from the physical regeneration of the metropolis, new governmental arrangements and accommodations must be developed to deal with this problem of urban growth. The metropolitan sprawl does not stop at city, county, or even state boundaries. It is generally inter-governmental, often interstate, sometimes international. Imagination and experimentation will be needed to develop the political structures necessary to provide the needed governmental services. Experience thus far indicates that there is no master plan that will serve every metropolis. But pioneer efforts, such as those in Dade County, Florida, and Toronto, where authority to provide area-wide services has been transferred to a broader level of Government, suggest the outlines within which solutions may lie."

I merely quote this as only one example of the consideration of governmental technique among many others which may be considered essential at the administrative level in order to make effective urban redevelopment possible.

DESIGN AND ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES

The next rather obvious question is: where do these various technical and administrative skills fit in; for whom do the people with these abilities work? It looks something like this to me.

Municipal or civic government should be equipped with a competent planning staff within which design skills are an important staff requirement. This is the staff that should carry out the city-wide studies (or metropolitan-wide studies) and the process of area definition. If it does not have within its own organization competent design staff, then obviously it must seek them elsewhere, perhaps by contracting with private architects to work with the planning organization throughout the development of the initial studies.

Civic government must also have competent and sympathetic financial administration, both at the policy-making and administrative levels. Legislative and financial problems must be solved here. Here again, however, the participation of private consultants from business, investment and economics may prove helpful to round out this part of the job. The administration may not consider itself adequately equipped with skills, staff or time to work out and execute all of the necessary detail.

Between the planner and his group, and the administrator and his group, lies the field in which the architect and project designer enters. One of the problems at this point is that of knowing who he may be or how he may fit into the comprehensive scheme of things. There are various techniques.

He may be engaged as an urban design consultant by the Civic Administration throughout the complete development of the urban renewal work. In this capacity he might provide broad design guidance in the planning of what is to be done, and in designating the general nature of the work to be done. He may later participate in designing certain buildings; but in urban redevelopment there is the probability that a number of different designers of buildings may be involved. Here is where able design skills can be extremely important. The general work has to be done in such a way as to leave different architects reasonable freedom and flexibility in the design of their own buildings, but the general design skill must be of such a character as to lead all these individualists toward a harmony which may only be produced by teamwork and the recognition of the capacities and abilities of others.

The architect may be engaged, on the other hand, by a civic-minded group composed of business men, investors, or others to explore the possibilities in urban renewal and to cooperate thoroughly with civic government and its several departments and jurisdictions. The efforts of independent business groups may be illustrated by the efforts that are being made in cities like Baltimore, Fort Worth, and Philadelphia. While the groups in these cities are not composed entirely of business men, they occupy a major position in all of them. They have provided a great deal of the drive and energy necessary to produce some of the most talked-about and hopeful urban renewal proposals in North America.

The architect-designer may also participate as one of a team of his associates formed to assist or promote better urban redevelopment and to explore the possibilities for the application of competent "urban design" to

his city. Sometimes participation in this kind of work leads to its transformation into projects backed or promoted by the business community. Very often investment groups or corporations, and sometimes civic government itself, will turn to those who are active in the field of urban design and development for the advice, experience, and professional assistance necessary for successful urban improvement.

URBAN REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT DESIGN

It is at the point where we are ready to proceed with the design of particular redevelopment projects that the major concentration of design skill must be applied, and it is here that the challenge to design is greatest. What we are faced with then is not the design of some individually good buildings, but the successful and satisfying combination of the design of such buildings, the spaces which they create, and the relationship which these buildings and their spaces have to the urban structure around them and the city in which they exist. Central to the creative process must be a clear understanding of the characteristics of the particular community, and even in some instances ability and willingness to participate in the creation of new and improved character for the community. This is an extremely sensitive business.

In this connection, I want to re-emphasize the vital importance of the space that is created in the erection of many of the structures which may be considered to be the embodiment of urban redevelopment. This is probably an argument that you have heard more than once, but in my view it is so vitally important that it needs repeating time and time again.

We seem to have forgotten in recent decades how to manage with any kind of skill the creation of effective, attractive character-building open space. We are creating environment for human beings who move about, live, work and have their being in the spaces which we create for them. They do not live in the bricks and mortar, they live in the spaces. They move through these spaces on foot or in vehicles of one sort or another. For man, as he moves through these spaces or stops in them, we should be creating the visual atmosphere through which the impressions of his community are gained. We understand too little about the impressions that people have of their own community, and for that matter, of other communities. It is interesting to know that recently some studies have been started in this field at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. While this work has only begun, it has revealed some fascinating results in terms of the understanding gained by ordinary people in looking at their own community or looking afresh at someone else's. What creates their ideas, what has meaning, may lie a long way from what we, as architects, think are the most important elements. What these ideas and understanding may be, it seems to me, we must strive

to comprehend. Here design must be applied with humble sensitiveness or we may end up again with just another "project" instead of a new piece of urban fabric carefully woven into the structure of the city.

If we are dealing with urban redevelopment, renewal or rehabilitation in the areas in which people live, we cannot do otherwise than to couch the concept of what may be needed in the context of the neighbourhood as a whole. We must understand for example, whether the particular neighbourhood is one of those that is defined by major traffic routes that cut it off, or is one of those in which the neighbourhood areas are clearly determined by other facets of circulation, particularly that on foot, which may form the backbone of the structure. Seeing and understanding the neighbourhood area as a whole, is vital to being able to do a competent job of designing the new parts that may be added to it or of redesigning any parts which may require rehabilitation or improvement of one sort or another.

This is no dream, but a practical reality. There are too many places on this continent where we can see "projects" carved out of the old urban structure lending a sharp contrast between the new project area and the old urban pattern. It is so sharp as to appear that it had been excised by a knife. This may be replacement of housing, but it is far from "urban design". What we need is sensible and sensitive contributions which fit the neighbourhood as a whole. The work done may not be applied to the whole of a neighbourhood area, but in those places where new work is done, or rehabilitation carried out, there should be some method created for improving the coherence of the area as a whole by lending importance to the significant elements, opening up adequate space for its churches, schools, or other public buildings, in the creation of a pleasant relationship amongst these elements and the circulation system that leads to them, and the general access to and through the neighbourhood area as a whole.

By concentrating on the elements of unification in the whole of any area, we may make it possible for many design skills to participate in the work to be done, without facing the probability or the possibility of serious conflict among those whose design philosophies appear to be some distance apart from one another. The very act of creating walkways, squares, open spaces, land-scape, and the like for the purpose of unifying an area should contribute to creating an atmosphere of willing cooperation on the part of all designers and an anxiety to contribute in a wholesome way to the whole composition. We may have fewer prima donnas, but we may well end up with far finer places for human habitation and employment.

To those of you who may think that I sound as though I were fully convinced that I had the design skills myself and may be able to bring such ideas out of the field of rhetoric and into the field of bricks and mortar,

nails and wood, concrete, grass, and trees: I make no such claim. I, too, will have to learn like many others of us, how well we can make our ideas and our ideals bear fruit. Without ideals and the will to back them up, we may do no more than recreate more of the problems with which we are faced, leaving them for the next generation to straighten out.

We must learn as best we can from the experience of others in other parts of the world what they may have done to solve their problems where they seem to have done so with skill and feeling. We must always, however, return to the basic guidance of the community itself, its character and its potential to guide us in what we create for its benefit and well-being.

While this sounds like a basic design job founded on the human and physical characteristics of the area, all of those people that I mentioned in the beginning should participate in the fundamental creation or recreation of a new element in the city.

Let us not build new blocks and buildings in the midst of what we have now, like patches on a little boy's knee. Let us at least attempt to build the spirit of new life in some of these old places and breathe life into

them, not by patches of new development, but by the design of such replacement and rehabilitation as will seem to infuse the whole area with a new life-giving character.

If I tried to define more specifically what, in my opinion, should be done with redevelopment project areas, I could only set down particular specifications which, more likely than not, would fit conditions that occurred only in one or two places. Design cannot be executed by specification; and the more we recognize the true character of design and its basic need for sensitiveness and understanding before it can hope to be in any way productive or successful, the more we may do to achieve the ends we have in mind; and certainly far and away more than any list of mechanical steps that might be considered necessary under certain specific conditions. Through depth of concept, and depth of understanding in our attempts to create a new character or a new atmosphere in the areas with which we deal, we may make it possible for many others to participate in the improvement and redevelopment of whole sections of our cities and provide a stimulus that will be far more effective than simply some more acres of clean, new, but deadly monotonous stores, factories or housing.

Le rôle de l'architecte et de l'urbaniste dans le réaménagement urbain

Sommaire de l'article de M. Thrift

Une cité bien conçue est une synthèse d'urbanisme, d'architecture, et d'administration civique et commerciale.

Souvent, l'urbaniste ne semble intéressé qu'aux problèmes généraux de la cité comme un tout, en s'occupant peu du modèle de la construction.

Souvent, l'architecte semble s'intéresser trop peu à ce qui n'est pas bâtiment et son voisinage immédiat.

Puis il y a l'administration — gouvernement (local, provincial et fédéral); affaires commerciales (placements et construction). Pour l'administrateur, le modèle de la construction semble être souvent secondaire — quelque chose qui s'achète et qui sert à envelopper.

Dans la rénovation urbaine, les trois participants doivent travailler comme une équipe, non en concur-

rence l'un avec l'autre, non plus que dans des compartiments étanches. Il est important, de plus, que le travail d'équipe commence dès le début. Le réaménagement n'est pas une oeuvre dont il faut préparer les plans ou qu'il faut concevoir comme un chef-d'oeuvre, puis reporté à l'administrateur pour qu'il l'exécute. Ceux qui sont responsables d'établir les politiques et le financement doivent participer dans une certaine mesure avec l'urbaniste et l'architecte pendant toute la période des travaux de création. Le résultat ultime peut découler des contributions apportées par des spécialistes en architecture et plusieurs talents administratifs et analytiques. De cette collaboration, nous aurons peut-être moins de "prima donnas" mais nous jouirons d'endroits mieux développés pour l'habitation et le travail.

CITIZEN LEADERSHIP IN PLANNING AND RENEWAL

by Stanley H. Pickett

The effective implementation of development plans for any of our municipalities is contingent upon a political decision by the local council. For that decision to be made and resolutely carried out depends upon a degree of interest and active support from John Citizen. If the people see no virtue in any proposal, then, no matter how lucid its logic in professional eyes, it is likely to receive, in the expressive phrase used in Newfoundland municipalities, a 'six-months hoist' — in perpetuity!

This need for a broad measure of public acceptance and support has long been recognized. 'Plans are not for the planners but for the planned', was the admonition given to the over-enthusiastic technician in the heady days of 1948 amid the exciting potentialities of the new, and then unadulterated, Town and Country Planning Act in Great Britain. In the United States a whole crop of citizen organizations were formed to press for, and then to support, renewal action following the enactment of the Housing Act of 1949. The possibilities for renewal on a broader scale in Canada which were opened up by the amendment of the National Housing Act in 1956 has encouraged citizen interest and has already led to organised action in at least two cities.

THE BEGINNINGS

In the light of this new interest it may be valuable to look back at what citizens have achieved in the past in supporting both planning and renewal. The beginning of contemporary town planning in Canada springs from the action of civic groups. Thomas Adams came from England in 1914 to work with the Commission of Conservation. It is interesting to note the words of Sir Edmund Osler in the fourth report of the Commission:

"Petitions asking us (the Commission) to obtain Mr. Adams' services have been sent in by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Canadian Public Health Association, the Order of the Daughters of the Empire, the National Council of Women, the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association, the Royal Edward Institution, the Union of Canadian Municipalities, the Montreal Citizens' Association, the Union Committee of Charitable Organizations, Montreal, the Union of Charities of Toronto, the Board of Trade of Hamilton, and by a very large number of the most prominent citizens of Canada."

This is certainly the beginning of citizen action in planning. The first local organized group was that which banded together to work for action on the Bruce Report which had been published in Toronto in 1934. A house on University Avenue was turned into a Housing Centre and exhibitions and meetings were held there. Members of this group, amongst whom Prof. E. J. Urwick, Mrs. Plumptre and Humphrey Carver were prominent, made an effort to arouse interest in housing nationally, fairly successful Housing Conferences being held in Ottawa and Toronto in 1938 and 1939.

CITIZENS HOUSING AND PLANNING ASSOCIATION, TORONTO, 1944-481

This organization grew out of a resolution passed at a conference convened by The Toronto Citizens' Forum in June 1944. W. Harold Clark was the first Chairman. The Association, known initially as the Citizens' Housing Association and later as the Citizens' Housing and Planning Association, had five objectives: to present an educational program on housing and planning; to work toward the elimination of blight and the construction of low-rental housing units in Toronto; to obtain housing for the families of servicemen and for the servicemen themselves after demobilisation; to co-operate with the planning authorities; to promote research into housing and planning matters. The Association never had more than 300 individual members, plus 25 corporate members and its budget was between three and four hundred dollars a year. The membership comprised some 48 civic groups representing the churches, business, labour, health, welfare and educational associations.

In July 1944, a brief was submitted to the federal government and to every member of parliament. The brief examined the situation in Toronto as disclosed by the Bruce Report and called for a low-rental housing program. It went on to support the principal recommendations of the Curtis Report², which had just been

¹For information on this Association the author has drawn freely on Chapter 5 of Regent Park by Albert Rose, University of Toronto Press, 1958. \$5.50. Dr. Rose's book is essential reading for anyone interested in redevelopment and public housing in Canada.

²Report of the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction. IV. Housing and Community Planning. 1944.

published, and called for provincial and federal legislation under which the City of Toronto could develop plans for housing which had already been formulated. The Association worked vigorously and maintained a determined attack on all three levels of government by means of briefs, letters, editorials and meetings. Perhaps the most significant meeting was the Housing Conference held in November 1944 which attracted 600 people and at which Nathan Straus, the famous American housing expert, was a speaker. This vigorous promotional work went on through 1945 and 1946. During these years various inadequate suggestions for solving the housing problem were opposed, but at the same time the Association was careful to keep the way open for a full survey of blighted areas, particularly the Regent Park Area, upon which a really adequate housing program could be developed. Towards the end of 1946 it was realized that it was getting late to obtain a decision of the City Council to place the question of low-rental housing before the electors at the municipal elections in January, 1947. At this stage the Association pressed for and obtained an audience with the Board of Control. This took place on November 20th, 1946, when about 250 people attended City Hall as a delegation. This was perhaps the greatest single action of the Association. Mayor Saunders had already declared his sympathy with the idea of lowrental housing and after hearing the delegation the Board of Control voted to place the question before the electorate. The Association then worked for an affirmative vote by meetings, press notices and correspondence. The vote was carried and work began on Regent Park North during 1947. As soon as it had been decided to go ahead,



W. HAROLD CLARK

the Association campaigned for the establishment of a City Housing Authority and this also was set up during 1947, a leading member of the Association, Mrs. H. L. Luffman, being chosen as one of the members of the Authority. Harold Clark, the Chairman, commenting on five years work of the Association wrote "this Association can with some justification claim to be one of the founders of the public housing movement in Canada".

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN MONTREAL

The first mention of citizen organizations in connection with renewal and housing in Montreal is the Report on Slum Clearance and Low Rental Housing which was made in 1934 under the auspices of the Board of Trade and Civic Improvement League.

MRS. R. G. GILBRIDE



Photo by Notman

The development of a citizen organization is a tribute to the energy and skill of Mrs. R. G. Gilbride who was the mainspring of a drive to get existing civic associations to combine their efforts in order to obtain action on slum clearance and housing. With unremitting effort Mrs. Gilbride managed to get no fewer than 55 associations, interested in various aspects of social welfare and in civic problems, to combine in the Citizens' Committee for Low Rental Housing which was established in September, 1952. In November of that year a delegation from the Citizens' Committee appeared before the Montreal City Executive Committee suggesting that action should be taken on projects of slum clearance and lowrental housing which were known to be under study by the City of Montreal. The delegation offered the cooperation of the Citizens' Committee, and its constituent associations, to the City Council. The Council was convinced by the submission which had been presented to it and by the quality and enthusiasm of the Committee. Within two weeks the Council set up an Advisory Committee which included Mrs. Gilbride and three other members of the Citizens' Committee for Low Rental Housing. This Advisory Committee was under the chairmanship of M. Paul Dozois. The report of his Committee, together with that of the subsequent Joint Advisory Committee, form the basis of the project now known as Les Habitations Jeanne-Mance.

REVITALIZATION WITH CITIZEN LEADERSHIP IN ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

Citizen action in St. John's took place several years prior to confederation with Canada and was conducted through an official Commission of Enquiry and a government sponsored Housing Corporation. The point of interest is that virtually the same group of citizens was responsible for persuading the Newfoundland Govern-

ment to set up the Commission of Enquiry, for the proceedings of the Commission and for the subsequent operations of the Housing Corporation. Early in the 1940's a small group of people of whom Eric Cook, Q.C., then Deputy Mayor of St. John's, was the most prominent, were actively campaigning for slum clearance in the Central Area and for the construction of a supply of good housing. A leader for the tremendous effort involved was found in the person of Mr. Justice (later Sir Brian) Dunfield.

As a result of citizens' representations to the Government, a Commission of Enquiry on Housing and Town Planning in St. John's was appointed in May, 1942, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice Dunfield. The membership of the Commission was representative of the churches, business, labour, law, service clubs, welfare and education. Between November 1942 and January 1944 the Commission presented a series of five reports, the third of which, published in June 1943, was a detailed study of housing conditions, the necessity for town planning and the financing of housing. This report suggested a method of organization whereby the Newfoundland Government and the City of St. John's could jointly establish a Housing Corporation which would develop raw land and build houses and apartments, both for sale and rent. St. John's Housing Corporation Act was passed in July, 1944. Mr. Justice Dunfield was named as chairman of the Corporation with a Board of eight unpaid members, several of whom had previously been members of the Commission of Enquiry.

This Corporation, by a novel, and indeed daring, method of land expropriation based in part on the recommendations of the Uthwatt Report in Great Britain, acquired 800 acres of land and developed about a quarter of this area by direct labour. Overall planning was carried out and the first development, known as Churchill Park, comprised about 240 houses and just over 100 apartments which let at slightly above economic rent. Nearly 8 miles of streets, 6 miles of watermains and 8 miles of sewer mains were laid and a tunnel was blasted through the solid rock of Signal Hill so that sewers could drain by gravity to the outfall into the harbour. The work carried out between 1948 and 1949 by St. John's Housing Corporation freed the bonds of constriction which had hitherto prevented the satisfactory growth of the city and laid the foundation for the subsequent suburban growth which has in the main been concentrated in the 800-acre area and has followed the Housing Corporation's long-range plan to a remarkable degree.

After confederation in 1949 and the transfer of the financial interest of the City of St. John's in the Corporation to the Government of Newfoundland, control of the Corporation passed out of the hands of the group of citizens which had brought about its inception and had been responsible for its successful operation³.

THE HONOURABLE SIR BRIAN DUNFIELD



POSTWAR ORGANIZATIONS

All the above organizations were established before or during the Second World War and all of them have now ceased to operate except the St. John's Housing Corporation which functions in a different manner, and for somewhat different purposes, than those for which it was originally established. Within the past two years efforts have been made to establish citizen organizations in support of urban renewal activity in major cities in Canada. Progress has not been too satisfactory, although in Vancouver and Halifax the foundations have been laid for effective citizen organizations.

THE COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED, VANCOUVER

Interest in citizen support for renewal and planning in Vancouver is of course apparent in many civic organizations such as the Vancouver Housing Association, Vancouver Board of Trade, the City Welfare Council and many other groups. A series of meetings was held during February, 1957 under the auspices of the Board of Trade, the Civic Bureau and the Vancouver Branch of the Community Planning Association of Canada. These meetings culminated in a well-attended meeting at the University of British Columbia which was attended by representatives of the church, business, labour, education, the professions, social and welfare groups. Following talks given by the Urban Redevelopment Officer of

³For details see: Reports of the Commission of Enquiry on Housing and Town Planning in St. John's, published by the Newfoundland Government between November 1942 and January 1944. The most important is the Third Interim Report dated June 3rd, 1943. These reports are no longer generally available but copies may be found in libraries. Also see Report of the St. John's Housing Corporation 1944-50 published by the Corporation, Fort Townshend, St. John's.

the Community Planning Association of Canada and the City Planning Officer of Vancouver, it was resolved to meet again to discuss the possibility of forming an organization. Protracted discussions took place during the following summer, culminating in meetings during August and September at which a provisional executive was appointed and George Cunningham, a former alderman of the City of Vancouver and a leading businessman, was elected provisional chairman. The Committee has not yet begun to function continuously, but is actively engaged in organizing under the name of the Committee of One Hundred. The Committee is representative of the leading organizations of the City and it is intended that membership in it should be an honour and that it should become one of the principal civic organizations in Vancouver. It has also been decided that the Committee will not restrict its interest solely to urban renewal but will also consider other aspects of civic affairs. A provisional budget and financing arrangements have been discussed and it is hoped to obtain an executive director in due course. It would seem from the way in which the organization is shaping up that it will ultimately resemble in some respects the Citizens' Committee on City Planning which has functioned so successfully in Philadelphia for many years.

CITIZEN ORGANIZATION IN HALIFAX

The impetus for citizen interest in renewal in Halifax came directly from the report prepared under Part V of the National Housing Act by Professor Gordon Stephenson. Public interest in this report was widespread. The Urban Redevelopment Officer of Community Planning Association of Canada spoke to a number of leading civic groups within a month of the publication of the Stephenson Report. The Halifax Welfare Council, the Trades and Labour Council, the Ministerial Association, the Progressive Club, the Board of Trade and the local branch of Community Planning Association of Canada all expressed interest in the idea of a citizen organization to press for action on the Stephenson Report and to organize support for such action. Following these meetings, the Metropolitan Halifax Branch of CPAC arranged a one-day Conference on the Stephenson Report at Dalhousie University on 27th January, 1958. Over 200 people attended the meetings which were addressed by Gordon Stephenson and by the author. The program also included a series of panel discussions and a most valuable expression of the points of view of several of the leading civic organizations. This meeting served to crystallise the interest which existed in supporting renewal action. At a subsequent meeting of representatives of city-wide organizations, the Community Planning Association of Canada was asked to establish a co-ordinating committee "to promote action and education on redevelopment for Halifax". It may be of interest to note the wide range of citizen interests which were represented at this meeting, which was held in March 1958: Halifax Board of Trade; the Junior Board of Trade; Halifax-Dartmouth Real Estate Board; Nova Scotia Association of Architects; Halifax District Labour Council; the Welfare Council of Halifax; Halifax Council of Women; Halifax Ministerial Association; Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Halifax; City Council of Home and School Associations; Community Planning Association of Canada; Halifax Construction Association; Civil Service Federation of Canada; Halifax Jewish Community Council; Nova Scotia Association for Advancement of Coloured People; Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. The form which the citizens' organization will ultimately take in Halifax will grow from the wishes and intentions of these groups and will do much to secure support for the action now being undertaken by the City Council.

GUIDES FOR FUTURE ACTION

Four major redevelopment schemes are now in progress in Canada (November 1958). More will be started soon. Sixteen cities have taken a new look at themselves, at their housing stock and their need for redevelopment. We may confidently expect increasing action throughout the next decade. Here is a great opportunity for citizen action, as the success of redevelopment depends largely upon the degree of public understanding and support obtained. Citizen organizations will have an increasingly important role to play. In assuming their responsibility they may gain inspiration and help from the experience of those groups which have pioneered in citizen leadership.

Experience suggests three essential criteria for effec-

tive citizen organizations:-

(1) They must be broadly based, bringing together, and then focussing, the particular interests of a wide range of civic, social and professional groups onto the

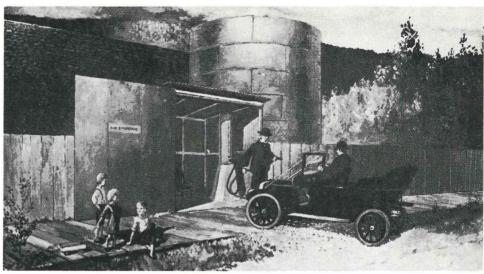
local renewal problem.

(2) They must be cooperative organizations. The diverse groups represented must not be asked to follow the banner waved by one predominant group, be it a Board of Trade, a Welfare Council or a CPAC Branch. One group will probably act as a forum for organizational meetings. Another may be a catalyst to draw together the constituent elements of the citizen organization, but these groups must work among equals if the strength of the whole is to be fully exerted.

(3) There must be strong leadership of the executive of the organization. The power of the individual leader shines through the records of effective organizations in both Canada and the United States. They may be citizens, like Mrs. Gilbride and Harold Clark, or elected leaders, such as Mayor Lawrence of Pittsburgh and Mayor Lee of New Haven. It is the dynamism which they bring to their leadership which, more than any other single factor, will assure the success of citizen leadership in urban renewal.

COMMUNITY MOTOR FUEL NEEDS

by K. W. Walter*



From a drawing by John Innes. Courtesy of Imperial Oil Limited

For the good of the community, all planners, municipal authorities and the public must recognize the rapidly changing conditions of the retail petroleum business and the greatly increasing demand for motor fuel in this country.

On a percentage basis Canada's population is increasing more rapidly than that of any other country in the western world. There is a strong urbanization trend with two out of three people at present living in urban areas, and this ratio will likely rise to four out of five within twenty years. Much of the urban area expansion is in the suburbs where the automobile is the keystone of the suburban way of life. Over three out of ten people in Canada already live in the suburbs of large Canadian cities.

Although the gross population growth is rapid, the national vehicle growth is twice as fast. In southern Ontario, for example, the traffic is expanding at a considerably faster rate than anywhere in the United States and within a couple of decades Ontario will have three times as much traffic as now. In the two provinces of Alberta and Ontario today there are more cars than there are families and almost as many cars as families in British Columbia. In some cities, the vehicle growth is even faster, as in Metropolitan Toronto, for instance, where within ten years there will be one vehicle for every two people.

Because of this dynamic increase in motor vehicles the retail petroleum business is the most rapidly changing of any retail business. The need for motor fuel is increasing faster than the need for more rood or drugs, for example. Approximately 54% of all households in Canada have one car and 6% have two cars or more. In Ontario over three out of five households have one car and nearly 10% have two or more cars.

*Dr. Walter is Geographic Advisor of Imperial Oil Limited.



There are nearly as many cars in Canada as bathtubs. Two-car families are increasing far faster proportionately than one-car families. There are now a quarter-million households operating two or more cars — a gain of over 100,000 in five years. It is calculated that the middle-income Canadian family spends \$4.50 average per week at a service station buying petroleum and related products. If the purchase of the car is added to this, the amount spent on automobile transportation is 10% of disposable income. The money spent on cars is exceeded only by purchases of food (25%), housing (18%), and clothing (slightly over 10%).

There will be increasing fuel needs as the average mileage of each vehicle will increase from 9,300 miles per year in 1955 to approximately 10,000 miles per year in 1980. As well as more mileage, there will be greater gasoline consumption per vehicle as more accessories are added — from the present 550 gallons of gasoline per car each year to probably 700 gallons within two decades.

The rising standard of living in Canada also will have an influence on vehicle usage as more leisure time and higher incomes will increase average automobile mileage.

Comparing 1958 and 1950, Canada's total spending power, as measured by personal disposable income, is up by two-thirds. Even allowing for price increases of 25%, this is a one-third gain in market size in only eight years.

If the family income is under \$2,000, only one out of three wage-earners own a car, whereas when the income is \$5,000 or more, nine out of ten wage-earners own at least one car. As general incomes rise, it is quite probable more people will decide to purchase more vehicles and use them to a greater extent. Furthermore, the enlarging proportion of teenagers in our population will encourage more vehicle usage.

In considering the implications of the effects of the automobile on our society, it is essential that planners realize the importance of service stations to this type of living. The automobiles must have fuel before they can be driven to work, shopping or social activities. In fact, it might be suggested that proper distribution of quality service stations throughout the community is the vital starting point for good planning of motorized urban areas.

The important issue is not so much evolving the gross number of retail petroleum outlets to be in an area, but rather that of determining proper placement of service stations which would best supply the motor fuel needs for the community, not only for the present but also for the future. If a community has an inadequate number of service stations to fulfil the requirements, this imbalance of stations is a disservice to the local people as well as causing undue pressure for station building in nearby municipalities. The gasoline requirements of neighbourhoods with established density of households will enlarge as the multiple-car households gain. Therefore, even in well-established neighbourhoods, the gasoline fuel requirements will be even greater in the future than now. Also, as the new expanding fringe areas become more established there is more need for retail petroleum servicing to keep up with the population growth and supply the suburban needs with its dependency on the car for transportation.

Planners should evaluate station placement on a business or customer-movement basis rather than on strict political boundaries. Because of the mobility of motorists and the fact that only approximately half of the car owners buy gasoline near where they live, it is essential that there be standardized cooperative plans for adjoining municipalities. There has to be sufficient choice of potential service station sites on the natural-flow arteries serving an area so that gasoline alleys are not created through

poor planning. If there are not enough sites available for service stations it makes specific properties much higher priced than should normally be the case.

Municipal authorities interested in adequate planning in their areas should remember that the customer purchasing habits for petroleum products are different from those of other retail outlets. For one thing, the service station cannot have adequate sales from local neighbourhood business alone (as a local drug store could, for instance), but the station must have the additional customer-traffic from those motorists who live beyond but travel through the local neighbourhood.

Another peculiarity of the service station is the brand loyalty displayed by customers who desire specific brands of motor fuel which they would like to obtain within a convenient distance. This is in contrast to the food or drug stores which sell various brands of goods.

A third mark of distinction of service stations is the widespread use of credit cards which causes motorists to look for a specific brand of retail petroleum outlet.

This points up, then, the necessity for more municipal authorities to develop comprehensive traffic surveys to ascertain the travel and trade patterns of residents of a municipality. These studies would assist in gaining knowledge to have improved service station placement to best serve the motorist. Any evaluation is good for only one period in time and a continuing analysis is particularly essential when the distribution of stations and choice of available properties have to be viewed as adequately serving not only the vehicle population of this year but the vehicles two years hence, or a decade hence.

A few planners have attempted to develop their program for service stations by dividing the gross population by a special number, whether it be 700 or 500 or some other number, per station. This method, of course, is quite inadequate because it does not take into account the changing ratios of people and vehicles, physical facilities at various petroleum outlets, type and age of vehicles, and so on.

It is proposed that to determine the degree to which a community's motor fuel needs are being met, it is necessary to equate all outlets to the equivalent number of major brand quality company-owned leased stations. This would equalize outlets which are sub-standard for various reasons. This would give a truer picture as to the servicing capacity of the established petroleum outlets. It is quite likely that for every four outlets which meet the standards there might be three outlets which do not. These sub-standard outlets might be stations with inadequate physical facilities or might be outlets where the sales of gasoline are secondary interests — such as with garages, taxi stands, or body shops.



The standards of comparison should be reasonable both for the oil industry as well as for planners. Each station should be weighed according to a graduated measure with brand, ownership, physical facilities, primary purpose, traffic density, location, all being considered. These evaluations have to be arbitrary judgments somewhat, but if measured consistently will give a common denominator more realistic than just talking about retail petroleum outlets in general. It could then be stated that, although the gross number of retail petroleum outlets is a certain number, realistically they are only equivalent to the determined number of stations of recognized standard to best serve the community needs.

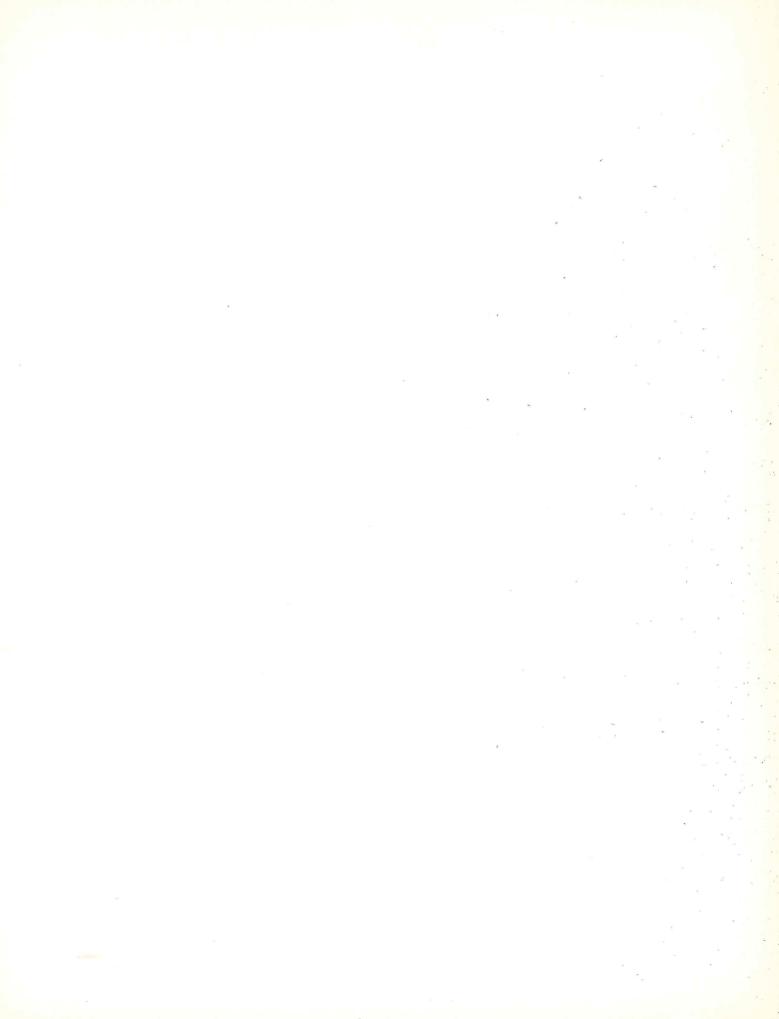
This approach helps face the question sometimes raised that there might be too many stations already. As mentioned, it is not the number only that is important but the judicious distribution of the proper types of service stations. If the vehicle registrations were multiplied by today's average figure of 550 gallons, a good proportion of the gallonage sales could be calculated thus. Then by dividing this number by the realistically determined number of quality service stations in an area, it is feasible to obtain a generalization as to whether the area is near saturation of stations selling reasonable amounts of gasoline. It is expected that in most municipalities the gallonage sales for local registrants alone would warrant the number of outlets. This would particularly be so when the forecast vehicle growth and increasing gallonage demand is considered.

As well as considering the local registered vehicles, it must be realized that motorists who do not live in the

community buy motor fuel too. This means that any basis for assessment of this kind must be taken on a large enough area so as to give a good analysis which reflects the travel patterns of motorists purchasing gasoline in that community. If too small an area for vehicle registration is used it is not a firm base for calculations because often the car population moving through a smaller area can be far greater than the total registration of vehicles in that community or section of a larger metropolitan unit. Service stations have to supply fuel for all the motorists in the area who need gasoline at that time and not just the requirements of the local population. This is particularly true when the community has major arteries traversing it.

With constantly changing conditions and dynamic growth of vehicles, it is paramount that a tendency toward undue restriction of the retail petroleum industry be viewed with much caution. Such limitations are often soon out of date resulting in the local inhabitants being either improperly serviced or being forced to purchase motor fuel at inconvenient distances.

Forward planning for retail petroleum stations is quite important for built-up areas and is even more vital for areas which are potentially ripe for urban expansion. Some short-sighted errors of limitations which occurred in the past should not be repeated in the newer expanding areas. Similarly, modern techniques of evaluation should be used to provide a greater choice of suitable properties properly distributed throughout the area on the natural-flow arteries near where the motorists live.



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